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THE POPULATION OF WALES IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

By LEONARD OWEN, C.I.E., M.A. (*Honorary Treasurer*).

THE first official enumeration of the people of England and Wales took place in 1801. Before that, there had been a number of special reports prepared for the Privy Council including the Muster Rolls of able-bodied men in the reign of Henry VIII, the returns made by the bishops in 1563 showing the number of households in every parish in their dioceses, and further returns made by the bishops in 1603 giving the number of Church of England communicants and recusants. Not one of these, however, attempted to number the population as a whole. Perhaps the fate which is said to have overtaken king David acted as a deterrent in the days when the literal interpretation of the Bible was one of the cardinal doctrines of the new Church.

What the population was in any given century previous to 1801 has been computed from time to time by statisticians and historians, but the first scientific approach was made by Gregory King nearly three centuries ago. In 1696 he published his *Natural and political observations* in which he calculated on the basis of the Hearth books for 1690 that there were on Lady Day in that year 1,319,215 houses of various kinds in England and Wales. He appreciated, however, that this number included empty houses, smiths' forges, etc., and to allow for this he reduced the number to 1,300,000. He assumed that there were, on an average, five persons in each house and so came to the conclusion that the total population of England and Wales in 1690 was six and a half million. His multiple of five was for many years the subject of dispute, but is now known to have been very accurate.

In *The Welsh People* (John Rhys and D. Brynmor-Jones) Gregory King is credited (by inference, at least) with having estimated the number of houses in Wales and Monmouth in 1690 as 77,921. In fact, King made no separate mention of Wales in his book, and the credit for preserving this figure must go to his disciple and biographer, George Chalmers, who was the author of a book called *An estimate of the strength of Great Britain* which ran into several editions, the most important of which is that of 1802. In this, on p. 218, we get in the form of a table "A comparative view of the number of Houses in each County of England and Wales as they appeared in the Hearth Books of Lady Day 1690; as they were made up at the Tax Office in 1708–1750–1781; and as they appear from the enumeration of 1801".

Unfortunately, although the figures for 1690 are given for each English county individually, those for Wales and Monmouth are bracketed together in a single total. The consequence is that we

have no check on the 1670 hearth tax returns. Chalmers then proceeded to develop a system by which he calculated that the number of houses in Wales and Monmouth in 1708 was 84,934. Working backwards on the same system the number in 1670 would be roughly 71,000 which, if we exclude Monmouth, is probably fairly accurate. But this is the sort of lucky coincidence which makes a mockery of statistics, for the Chalmers system can be devastatingly wrong when applied to individual Welsh counties.

The object of the present exercise is to try to provide a more detailed break-down of the population of Wales in the period covered by the surviving hearth tax returns (1664–70), to provide corresponding figures for the period 1550–63, and to estimate the increase in the population, county by county and hundred by hundred, in the intervening period.

With regard to the seventeenth century, the foundation on which any calculation of the population must be based can only be the hearth tax returns and, these as Gregory King pointed out, must be read with care—not only for the reasons given by him, but because the returns made before 1664 are quite useless for this purpose. The best are probably those prepared in 1670, but, although in the absence of rebutting evidence I have been forced to accept them, I believe that those sent in from parts of Cardigan and Carmarthen are unreliable.

With regard to the sixteenth century, we have two sets of documents which, where they have survived, give us a very accurate picture of the density of the population in the years which they cover. The first, and most important, is the series of returns made by the bishops in 1563, giving the number of households in each parish. In this paper these returns are referred to as the Bishops' Census. In so far as Wales is concerned, only those made by the bishop of Bangor and the bishop of St. David's have survived but these are, each in its own way, of vital importance—the former because the Subsidy Rolls for Anglesey and Caernarvonshire do not help us at all and the latter because it covers nearly the whole of South Wales.

The second consists of the Rolls prepared by the Tax Commissioners in connexion with the Subsidy voted in 34/35 Henry VIII c. 27 and collected in 35, 36, and 37 Henry VIII.

Here I must digress for a moment. It has to be remembered, and indeed it must be stressed, that in the reign of Henry VIII the word "subsidy" had not attained its later specialized significance when people could talk of a subsidy-man in much the same way as they now speak of a sur-tax payer. In Henry's time it meant nothing more than a tax. So much so that Marillac, writing on 20 May 1542, refers to "the general tax which, a year ago, every one paid without exception" (C.S.P., XVII, 1542, para. 194). By the Statute referred to above every person in the realm having land of the

minimum value of £1 per annum, or goods and chattels of the total value of £1, was liable to assessment—the lowest amount payable being one penny for one instalment or 2d. for two. The qualification was so low that most of the counties and all the boroughs interpreted it as meaning every householder who was not a pauper. But it did give the Commissioners a loop-hole for excusing the poorer sort of people and they availed themselves of this in Anglesey and Caernarvonshire. Elsewhere, they were not so merciful, and in South Wales, in those parishes where parallel figures have survived, we find 14,357 households recorded by the bishop and 13,632 taxpayers by the Commissioners—a difference of only 5 per cent. In general, however, the appropriate figure to add to the number of taxpayers to allow for paupers is 10 per cent. Perhaps I may be permitted to give from my personal experience the proof of the accuracy of working on the Subsidy Lists plus 10 per cent. Originally, this was the method adopted by me of working out the population of South Wales because I was unaware that the bishop of St. David's had made a census of the households in his diocese. On the basis of the tax rolls I calculated that the number of households was 27,129. Using the bishop's census as the basis the number comes to 27,169. Let me hastily add, however, that there are wide variations in the different hundreds.

It is, perhaps, necessary to add a warning that too much must not be read into the Subsidy Rolls. Mr. W. Ogwen Williams, in his admirable introduction to the *Calendar of the Caernarvonshire Quarter Sessions Records*, has apparently been misled by the word "subsidy" into making the statement that there were some 1,480 landowners in Caernarvonshire in the reign of Henry VIII, an estimate obtained by adding up the names in P.R.O. MS. E.179 226/135. This manuscript has perished in parts so that we do not know either the exact number of taxpayers or the amounts paid in every case, but we do know that there were at least 361 (there were probably many more) who were only paying a tax of one penny, while in the boroughs of Caernarvon and Conway every householder, whatever his status, was assessed to the tax. The highest number of persons ever recorded in Tudor times as paying the subsidy *in terris* in Caernarvonshire was 239 (P.R.O., E.179, 220/136).

After this digression I revert to the main theme of the paper and discuss the other returns mentioned in my opening paragraph.

The Muster Rolls which were prepared about 1539 (the books are not dated) are only of importance in so far as they purport to give us the number of able-bodied men between the ages of 16 and 60. It is impossible to work out any set ratio between the number of men mustered and the number of householders in any given county—Anglesey, for example, with 1954 households, only mustered 1,228 men (P.R.O., E.36/33) whereas Merioneth with 2,104 households mustered 1,926 (E.36/49). Nor are the Rolls a

reliable guide to the age of the men, because they omit not only the aged but also those physically unable to bear arms. If we assume that there was, on an average, one man to a household, then in the three counties of Gwynedd out of a total of 7,000 men, no fewer than 1,500 escaped the muster.

The returns of communicants and recusants made by the bishops in 1603 are also an unreliable guide to the total population. A glance at the parish figures is sufficient to show that few of the parsons made any effort to do more than give an approximate number. The result is that these returns which should have given us a reasonably accurate picture of the number of men, women, and children under the age of 16 in 1603 do nothing of the kind. If we take the diocese of Bangor, for example, and work out the figures on these returns, we get the population divided up as follows : men 11,000, women 28,000, and children 13,000. The actual number returned by the bishops of Bangor, St. Asaph, and St. David's was 175,783, to which must be added those Llandaff parishes which were in Wales proper, giving us another 5,000 or so.

Before coming to the tables which show in a compact form the estimates of the households and population in the two periods now under consideration, I have one general comment to make. It will be observed that in the six North Wales counties the increase in the population between 1550-63 and 1670 is considerably greater than in the South Wales counties. One of the reasons why I have included the number of occupied houses in 1801 is to show that this is not due to any misinterpretation of the various documents on which this paper is based. The phenomenon is well authenticated and, accordingly, there must be some reason for it.

I suggest tentatively that this may be found in the beginning of that peaceful invasion of North Wales by English settlers which has, by this time, made that part of the country more English than Welsh. A casual study of surnames suggests that, between 1550 and 1670, 700 English families had moved into Flintshire, 680 into Denbighshire, and 570 into Montgomeryshire. Obviously, these figures are given, and must be accepted, with great caution because an accurate computation would require prolonged and careful study, but they can be accepted as a rough and ready guide. It would appear that as the tide of English settlers relentlessly flowed through the border counties the Welsh retreated before it, for we get a corresponding increase in the three counties of Gwynedd, but here the increase is almost entirely Welsh. There are no new English names in Merioneth, while Caernarvon (excluding the towns of Caernarvon and Conway) and Anglesey (excluding Beaumaris) can only produce thirty and sixty respectively—and the increase in Anglesey is largely due to the agreeable habit prevalent among young Beaumaris gentlemen of marrying Welsh heiresses.

I now proceed to explain, county by county, the principles on which the tables are based. This will enable any scholar who uses them to make his own adjustments if he wishes to do so.

Anglesey. The Bishop's Census (B.M. Harl. MS. 594) makes a complete return of all the households in the county. The only 35 Henry VIII Subsidy Lists which have survived are those for Dindaethwy and Talybolion (P.R.O., E.179. 263/3) and they are not reliable as the Commissioners took a very liberal view of their instructions.

The Hearth Tax returns for 1664, 1670, and 1674 have survived and all are in good condition. In the first return there are 2,668 names, in the second 3,239, and in the third 3,073. The 1670 return (P.R.O., E.179. 219/27) is the one I have accepted.

Brecon. The Bishop's Census (B.M. Harl. MS. 595) is complete and the number of houses recorded therein is presumed to be correct. The subsidy list (P.R.O., E.179. 219/29) is complete except in the case of Talgarth hundred, where the folios have mostly perished. As usually happens, there are pronounced variations in the two lists in so far as the hundreds are concerned, but the county totals tally in a remarkable manner.

The Hearth Tax return (P.R.O., E.179. 219/63) is undated, but the form shows that it relates to the year 1670. This return calls for no comment.

Cardigan. The Bishop's Census (B.M. Harl. MS. 595) is complete except for the parishes of Cilcennin, Llanddewi, and Llangrannog for which adjustments have been made. The subsidy list is made up in three rolls (E.179. 263/32, 219/68, and 224/541b) and is complete except for Creuddyn.

The Hearth Tax return (E.179. 263/46) is undated, but is unquestionably that for 1670. In my view this is not a complete return of the houses in Cardiganshire, but I have no option but to accept it.

Carmarthen. The Bishop's Census (B.M. Harl. MS. 595) is complete, but there is a curious error by a tired clerk in the number of households in Llanddarog parish which is given as 600. This should read 60 (the number in 35 Henry VIII was seventy-six and in the hearth tax 132). The names of the taxpayers in Kidwelly hundred are given in E.179. 220/96, in Derllys in 220/97 and 264/2, and in Elfed in 220/97 and 264/3. The names for Cethiniog appear only in 264/3 but the folios have largely perished.

The Hearth Tax return (E.179. 264/22) is undated but is that for 1670. The remarks which I have made about the Cardigan return apply with even greater force to this one. I cannot believe that it is a complete return, but I have with the utmost reluctance accepted it.

Caernarvon. The Bishop's Census (B.M. Harl. MS. 594) is complete except for the parishes of Rhos, Llangystennin, Eirias, and Llysfaen which were in the diocese of St. Asaph and for which adjustments have been made. The number of houses recorded in Caernarvon borough is 60, which is a clerical error for 160 (we have 127 names recorded in the subsidy list). In preparing the subsidy lists (E.179. 220/135 and 136) the Commissioners in the rural areas took the same line as those of Anglesey and the number taxed was roughly 1,600—we cannot be sure of the exact number because some of the folios have been torn.

Only one Hearth Tax return is available and that is in the County Archives at Caernarvon, and I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Ogwen Williams, who was then archivist, for allowing me to transcribe it. This return is undated but relates to the year 1662 and is quite useless for our purpose because it omits the names of those who, owing to poverty, were excused payment of the tax. The method adopted by me to try to provide more realistic figures was to take the number of households in each hundred in 1563 and 1801, divide the difference by two, subtract 15 per cent from the result to allow for the difference in the tempo of building in the two periods 1563–1670 and 1670–1801, and add the number thus obtained to the number of households in 1563. It is very doubtful whether the resultant figures are accurate as far as the hundreds are concerned but the total for the county is probably not far wrong.

Denbigh. The Bishop's Census (B.M. Harl. MS. 594) gives us a complete return for the deanery of Dyffryn Clwyd and Cinmeirch, comprising the whole hundred of Rhuthun together with the parish of Llarhaeadr in Isaled. Both this hundred and the rest of the county are covered by a beautifully complete and well-preserved roll (E.179. 221/207) giving the names of all those assessed to the subsidy. The number of names in this roll together with 10 per cent to include paupers gives us the number of households in this county in 1550.

The Hearth Tax return (E.179. 221/299) is undated and is not in any of the usual forms, but I believe it to be a complete return and have, accordingly, based my figures for 1670 on it.

Flints. This presents us with a considerable problem as the return of households which must have been made by the bishop of St. Asaph has not, apparently, survived and the only part of the subsidy list which can be traced is that relating to the hundred of Maelor (E.179. 221/207). This appears to be complete and I have accepted it as a correct record of the number of households in the hundred, subject to the addition of 10 per cent to cover paupers. The number of households shown in the tables against the other three hundreds is based on the assumption that the population increased in the period 1550–1670 in the same proportion as in

Maelor. Although this is almost certainly wrong for the hundreds individually, it may be fairly accurate for the county as a whole.

Two Hearth Tax returns have survived—that for 1664 (E. 179. 221/230) and that for 1670 (E. 179. 264/45). Neither is in a very good state of preservation, but the number of houses recorded is, as far as can be judged, 4,364 in the former and 4,290 in the latter. Certainly, there is nothing here to correspond to the differences in the Anglesey returns.

Glamorgan. The Bishop's Census (B.M. Harl. MS. 595) gives a complete return for the hundreds of Llangyfelach and Swansea. In the former hundred the figures differ substantially from those in the tax returns but this has no great significance as border parishes or townships were liable to be placed in different hundreds by different officials. The numbers for Swansea town and Swansea parish also show marked differences in the two returns, but when added together tally fairly closely. A complete list of taxpayers in the hundreds of Cardiff, Dinas Powys, Llantrisant, and Caerphilly is to be found in P.R.O., E. 179. 221/237, and another of taxpayers in the hundreds of Swansea, Llangyfelach, Neath, and Ogmore in E. 179. 221/232. The names relating to the hundred of Cowbridge appear only in E. 179. 221/238 which also contains a list of names for Cibwr (Cardiff), Llantrisant, and Caerphilly. But in this list the last three hundreds have 10 per cent fewer names than in E. 179. 221/237. I have, accordingly, assumed that this is also true for Cowbridge and have increased the number in that hundred by 10 per cent before adding (as in the case of the other hundreds not mentioned in the Bishop's Census) 10 per cent to cover paupers. The undated Hearth Tax return (E. 179. 221/297) relates to the year 1670 and calls for no comment.

Merioneth. The Bishop's Census (B.M. Harl. MS. 594) applies only to the hundreds of Ardudwy, Ystumanner, and Tal-y-bont. For Edyrnion the list of those assessed to the subsidy (E. 179. 222/312) is complete and has been accepted with the addition of the usual 10 per cent. The Penllyn list (E. 179. 222/307) is incomplete, but in respect of identifiable townships the number of taxpayers in 35 Henry VIII was 164. The same townships had 284 households in 1670. It has been assumed that the increase in the rest of the hundred was proportionate. For Mawddwy we have no records at all and I have assumed an increase between 1550 and 1670 corresponding to the increase in Ardudwy and Tal-y-bont. The Hearth Tax return (E. 179. 222/400a) is undated but was written by the clerk who wrote the Denbighshire return. In that case I mentioned the year 1670 but I am by no means certain that that date is correct. The number of houses recorded is, however, believed to be accurate.

Montgomery. The Bishop's Census has not survived. The lists of taxpayers prepared in 35 Henry VIII are complete in respect of the hundreds of Newtown (P.R.O., E.179. 222/342), Cause and Mathrafal (222/344), Montgomery (222/383), and Llanidloes (222/348). That for the hundred of Machynlleth (222/383) is not complete but we have 297 names in the parishes of Llanbrynmair, Cemais, Llanwrin, and Machynlleth. The number of houses shown in these parishes in the Hearth Tax return was 601 and for the hundred as a whole was 701. I have made adjustments on this basis. The subsidy lists for Llanfyllin, Poole, and Deuddwr have been lost and I have, accordingly, been forced to assume an increase in those hundreds similar to that in the rest of the county.

The Hearth Tax return (E.179. 265/10) is undated but is almost certainly the 1670 return. It appears to be complete.

Pembroke. The Bishop's Census (B.M. Harl. MS. 595) covers the whole county except the parishes of Bletherton, Llan-y-cefn, and Spittel, in the hundred of Daugleddau, for which the numbers given in the tax returns have been assumed to be correct. The Bishop's Census shows 400 households in the town of Tenby. This is certainly incorrect and I have amended the figure to 200. The number of taxpayers recorded in 35 Henry VIII was 163 and the number of men in the Muster Roll (P.R.O., E.36/42) was 160. The Hearth Tax return shows 173 houses. Apart from that the figures given in the Bishop's Census have been adopted.

As for the Subsidy Rolls, the only hundreds in which the names are fully recorded are Cilgerran (E.179. 223/418) and Dewsland (E.179. 223/420). The lists for Pembroke town (223/412) and Tenby (223/408) also appear to be complete. In respect of the other hundreds, Cemais is represented by six parishes or townships (223/418), Roose (223/419) by fifteen, Castlemartin (223/417) by nine, and Daugleddau (223/417) by twelve. None of the papers relating to Narberth seem to have survived.

The Hearth Tax returns (E.179. 224/532) are dated 1670, and as they are in the same form and were checked by the same clerk as the other South Wales returns help us to date those others as well.

Radnor. The Bishop's Census (B.M. Harl. MS. 595) covers the whole county, except the hundred of Radnor and the town of Knighton. It includes, however, the parishes of Cascob and Llanfihangel Nant Melan.

As far as the Subsidy Lists are concerned, one parish is missing in Colwyn (E.179. 224/539), three in Painscastle (224/546), and nine in Knighton (224/546). For the purpose of these calculations the Bishop's Census has been accepted as the basis for the county as a whole while the Subsidy Lists have been used to supplement those figures where necessary. The number of households in Knighton town is an estimate only and may be too high.

The Hearth Tax return (224/593) is undated but relates to the year 1670, and there is no reason to suppose that this return is incorrect.

In the tables which follow, the 1801 figures are abstracted from the Enumeration, 1801, in the State Papers room of the British Museum.

The multiple for any given county was obtained by averaging the number of persons to each occupied house in that county in the enumerations of 1801 and 1811.

ANGLESEY. *Multiple 5*

1545/63 1670 1801

Hundreds and towns	Households	Population	Households	Population	% change	Occupied houses	% change
Dindaethwy ..	357	1,785	621	3,105	74	996	50
Twrcelyn ..	215	1,075	380	1,900	77	1,719	352
Menai ..	270	1,350	584	2,920	117	1,045	80
Malltraeth ..	289	1,445	376	1,880	30	634	70
Llifon ..	402	2,010	617	3,085	50	1,271	106
Talybolion ..	310	1,550	519	2,595	67	747	42
Beaumaris ..	111	555	142	700	26	267	88
Totals ..	1,954	9,770	3,259	16,175	66	6,679	106

BRECKNOCK. *Multiple 5*

1545/63 1670 1801

Hundreds and towns	Households	Population	Households	Population	% change	Occupied houses	% change
Builth ..	829	4,145	861	4,305	3	942	9
Crucywel (Crickhowel)	629	3,145	1,100	5,500	75	1,008	-8
Defynnog ..	426	2,130	731	3,655	71	1,128	55
Merthyr ..	437	2,185	531	2,655	21	667	26
Pengelli ..	739	3,695	779	3,895	5	770	-1
Talgarth ..	828	4,140	993	4,965	20	1,301	30
Brecon town ..	350	1,750	442	2,210	26	499	11
Totals ..	4,238	21,190	5,437	27,185	28	6,315	16

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CARDIGAN. *Multiple 5*

1545/63 1670 1801

Hundreds and towns	Households	Population	Households	Population	% change	Occupied houses	% change
Genau'r-glyn ..	810	4,050	733	3,665	-10	1,418	94
Ilar ..	761	3,805	824	4,120	8	2,289	178
Creuddyn ..	828	4,140	1,019	5,095	22	1,979	97
Troed-yr-aur ..	505	2,525	745	3,725	48	1,797	141
Penarth ..	508	2,540	595	2,975	14	921	54
Cardigan town ..	52	260	87	435	69	415	377
Totals ..	3,464	17,320	4,003	20,015	15	8,819	120

CARMARTHEN. *Multiple 5*

1545/63 1670 1801

Hundreds and towns	Households	Population	Households	Population	% change	Occupied houses	% change
Cethiniog ..	864	4,320	579	2,895	-33	1,401	141
Caeo ..	1,035	5,175	824	4,120	-21	1,517	85
Derllys ..	972	4,860	1,344	6,720	38	2,334	76
Elfed ..	738	3,690	1,180	5,900	59	2,185	86
Perfedd ..	1,148	5,740	1,168	5,840	2	1,655	42
Kidwelly ..	1,464	7,320	1,997	9,985	38	3,116	56
Carmarthen town	430	2,150	439	2,195	2	930	112
Kidwelly town ..	224	1,120	120	600	-42	311	158
Totals ..	6,875	34,375	7,651	37,255	11	13,449	76

CAERNARVON. *Multiple 5*

1545/63

1670

1801

Hundreds and towns	Households	Population	Households	Population	% change	Occupied houses	% change
Creuddyn .. .	198	990	251	1,255	26	321	28
Arllechwedd Isaf ..	221	1,105	322	1,610	46	458	43
Arllechwedd Uchaf	277	1,385	477	2,385	71	746	56
Eifionydd .. .	382	1,910	612	3,060	60	923	51
Nant Conwy .. .	152	760	366	1,830	143	657	80
Cymydmaen .. .	320	1,600	559	2,795	75	883	58
Isgwyrfa .. .	220	1,100	339	1,695	33	501	40
Uwchgwyrfai .. .	304	1,520	602	3,010	99	1,004	67
Gafflogion .. .	316	1,580	430	2,150	37	585	36
Dinllaen .. .	264	1,320	633	3,165	142	1,131	79
Caernarvon .. .	160	800	351	1,755	120	609	74
Conway .. .	90	450	127	635	35	182	43
Bangor .. .	80	400	176	780	120	304	74
Totals .. .	2,984	14,920	5,245	26,225	76	8,304	53

DENBIGH. *Multiple 4½*

1545/63

1670

1801

Hundreds and towns	Households	Population	Households	Population	% change	Occupied houses	% change
Isaled .. .	1,088	5,168	1,314	6,241	28	2,233	70
Isdulas .. .	788	3,743	1,407	6,683	78	1,827	30
Rhuthun .. .	775	3,681	1,416	6,726	83	1,782	26
Bromfield .. .	672	3,192	1,892	8,987	181	2,329	23
Yale .. .	257	1,221	473	2,247	84	838	33
Chirk .. .	645	3,064	1,223	5,809	90	1,635	34
Wrexham town ..	319	1,515	679	3,225	112	1,443	112
Denbigh town ..	189	898	190	902	—	534	189
Totals .. .	4,733	22,482	8,594	40,820	82	12,621	47

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FLINTS. *Multiple 5½*

1545/63 1670 1801

Hundreds and towns	Households	Population	Households	Population	% change	Occupied houses	% change
Maelor .. .	486	2,551	886	4,651	82	1,529	73
Prestatyn .. .	221	1,160	402	2,110	82	587	46
Coleshill .. .	554	2,858	1,006	5,281	80	2,620	162
Rhuddlan .. .	409	2,142	744	3,906	81	1,179	58
Mold .. .	735	3,859	1,326	6,951	80	1,670	26
Totals .. .	2,405	12,570	4,364	22,899	81	7,585	73

GLAMORGAN. *Multiple 5½*

1545/63 1670 1801

Hundreds and towns	Households	Population	Households	Population	% change	Occupied houses	% change
Cardiff .. .	253	1,349	467	2,491	86	416	-11
Caerphilly .. .	452	2,411	848	4,523	88	2,427	185
Meisgyn (Miskin) ..	421	2,245	791	4,219	88	996	26
Dinas Powys ..	786	4,192	935	4,987	19	878	-6
Cowbridge ..	556	2,965	969	5,168	75	942	-2
Ogmore .. .	424	2,261	657	3,504	55	664	1
Llangyfelach ..	437	2,331	607	3,237	40	1,659	175
Newcastle .. .	546	2,912	1,057	5,637	91	1,502	44
Neath .. .	550	2,933	975	5,200	77	1,625	67
Swansea .. .	736	3,925	1,211	6,458	68	1,620	34
Cardiff town ..	189	1,008	332	1,771	75	314	-6
Swansea town ..	180	960	325	1,733	80	1,182	263
Totals .. .	5,530	29,493	9,174	48,928	66	14,225	55

MERIONETH. *Multiple 5*

1545/63

1670

1801

Hundreds and towns	Households	Population	Households	Population	% change	Occupied houses	% change
Ardudwy	532	2,660	932	4,660	75	1,598	72
Ystumanner	338	1,690	626	3,130	55	688	10
Tal-y-bont	228	1,140	586	2,930	157	819	40
Penllyn	395	1,975	691	3,455	72	1,293	87
Mawddwy	152	760	264	1,320	73	—	—
Edyrrnion	309	1,545	634	3,170	105	759	13
Dolgellau	140	700	144	720	3	630	333
Totals	2,104	10,520	3,877	19,385	85	5,787	49

MONTGOMERY. *Multiple 5½*

1545/63

1670

1801

Hundreds and towns	Households	Population	Households	Population	% change	Occupied houses	% change
Newtown	549	3,019	910	4,955	66	1,271	40
Cause	300	1,650	625	3,437	118	391	—80
Mathrafal	220	1,210	689	3,789	213	883	28
Montgomery	337	1,853	663	3,646	86	761	15
Llanidloes	462	2,541	504	2,772	8	1,505	200
Machynlleth	356	1,958	701	3,855	97	1,207	72
Llanfyllin	443	2,436	794	4,367	80	1,216	52
Poole	343	1,886	617	3,393	80	607	—2
Deuddwr	232	1,276	416	2,288	80	354	—45
Poole town	93	511	166	913	80	607	275
Montgomery town	56	308	133	678	137	—	—
Llanidloes town	59	324	148	814	150	—	—
Totals	3,450	18,972	6,366	34,907	84	8,802	39

112 POPULATION OF WALES IN 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

PEMBROKE. *Multiple 4½*

1545/63 1670 1801

Hundreds and towns	Households	Population	Households	Population	% change	Occupied houses	% change
Castlemartin ..	620	2,945	781	3,710	27	1,195	53
Dewsland	704	3,356	866	4,113	23	1,734	100
Roose	628	2,983	911	4,347	45	1,896	108
Daugleddau ..	403	1,914	717	3,406	78	1,197	67
Cemais	526	2,498	1,131	5,372	114	2,384	112
Cilgerran	158	750	361	1,715	127	718	99
Narberth	538	2,555	991	4,707	84	1,960	97
Pembroke town ..	133	632	253	1,202	92	—	—
Haverfordwest ..	315	1,496	450	2,137	43	593	32
Tenby	200	950	174	826	—13	192	10
Totals	4,225	20,079	6,635	31,535	58	11,869	80

RADNOR. *Multiple 5*

1545/63 1670 1801

Hundreds and towns	Households	Population	Households	Population	% change	Occupied houses	% change
Colwyn	433	2,165	498	2,490	15	462	—6
Cefn-llys	370	1,850	472	2,360	27	445	—8
Knighton	436	2,180	482	2,410	10	771	60
Painscastle ..	563	2,815	622	3,110	10	686	10
Rhaeadr	409	2,045	486	2,430	19	610	26
Radnor	474	2,370	483	2,415	2	342	—27
Knighton town ..	80	400	99	495	25	—	—
Old & New Radnor	72	360	117	585	64	359	—62
Totals	2,837	14,185	3,259	16,295	15	3,675	13

POPULATION OF WALES IN 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES 113

SUMMARY

1545/63 1670 1801

Hundreds and towns	House-holds	Popul-ation	House-holds	Popul-ation	% change	Occu-pied houses	% change
Anglesey ..	1,954	9,770	3,239	16,175	66	6,679	106
Brecon ..	4,238	21,190	5,437	27,185	28	6,315	16
Cardigan ..	3,464	17,320	4,003	20,015	15	8,819	120
Carmarthen ..	6,875	34,375	7,651	37,255	11	13,449	76
Caernarvon ..	2,984	14,920	5,245	26,225	76	8,304	53
Denbigh ..	4,733	22,482	8,594	40,820	82	12,621	47
Flint	2,405	12,570	4,364	22,899	81	7,585	73
Glamorgan ..	5,530	29,493	9,174	48,928	66	14,225	55
Merioneth ..	2,094	10,470	3,887	19,435	85	5,787	49
Montgomery ..	3,450	18,972	6,366	34,907	84	8,802	39
Pembroke ..	4,225	20,079	6,635	31,535	58	11,869	80
Radnor ..	2,837	14,185	3,259	16,295	15	3,675	13
Totals	44,789	225,826	67,854	341,674	52	108,130	59